



**Quantifying Neighborhood Change in Little Five Points
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Introduction

Gentrification has emerged as a major issue receiving attention from urban economics, planning, sociology and geography practices due to its growth from only large western cities in the 1960s into a global urban phenomenon. As many middle and upper class residents have begun to choose urban living, the low- and very low-income communities found in the inner city have seen and continue to see their neighborhoods drastically change. This trend is expected to strengthen in the coming years, creating a need to deepen the understanding of neighborhood change and work to mitigate the negative affects it can have on low-income communities (Florida, 2010).

To understand the process of gentrification in an Atlanta neighborhood, a quantitative study was conducted to track neighborhood changes over time. In Atlanta, several neighborhoods are recognized as experiencing and having experienced gentrification (City of Atlanta Task Force 2001). Little Five Points is a historic Atlanta neighborhood on the east side of the city straddling the Fulton and De Kalb County lines. Of the neighborhoods identified by Atlanta's Gentrification Task Force, Little Five Points was chosen as an area of focus because it is further along in the gentrification process than the others. The purpose of this study is to understand the particular changes Little Five Points experienced from 1980 to 2009 and explore how other communities might learn from this neighborhood's experience. To accomplish this goal, this research paper utilizes the quantitative analyses of neighborhood indicators, choosing several variables from the decennial American Census and American Community Survey, monitoring the indicators in 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2005-2009, and gleaning information regarding the demographic and economic shifts within the

neighborhood. The community indicator project was designed based on the community indicators' current literature, which helped to identify which indicators are suitable for measuring neighborhood change, and the extent to which these indicators signify change.

Gentrification can take many forms depending on the city and neighborhood's characteristics (Lees, Hammell, and Wyly 2010, p. 135). In order to focus on the aspects of gentrification this study is concerned with, the research is framed with several questions in mind. How much displacement has gentrification caused in Little Five Points? Have the demographics shifted in such a way that decennial neighborhood indicators from the United States Census can accurately track neighborhood change in Little Five Points? Were the negative effects minimal enough to claim gentrification in this neighborhood as positive? How can studies with this scope, a scope suitable for many community-based organizations to conduct, be improved so neighborhood organizations can improve their work with access to relevant data? Through answering these questions, this research paper will look to deepen understandings of gentrification, ideally to maximize the benefits for the incumbent low-income neighborhood residents.

Literature Review

This study utilizes three planning issues, neighborhood change, more specifically gentrification, and community indicators. To clarify, neighborhood change refers to the process all neighborhoods experience, and gentrification is a type of neighborhood change involving the middle class moving into a low-income neighborhood (Briggs 2007). In this section, the study assesses the varying arguments concerning the relevant planning issues, exploring the evolution of gentrification research and sifting which thoughts are applicable to change in Little Five Points. The literature review also uses studies of other neighborhood indicator projects to confirm that the same indicators chosen for this study have been useful in other studies. In particular, this study will build on the definition of gentrification, “Gentrification is the process by which central urban neighborhoods that have undergone disinvestments and economic decline experience a reversal, reinvestment, and the in-migration of a relatively well-off, middle- and upper middle-class population (Smith 1998). A deeper understanding of the gentrification that has taken place in Little Five Points will assist in a deeper understanding for general gentrification.

As a geographical and socio-economic phenomenon, gentrification has received much attention over the past several decades with many varying perspectives (Smith 1979; Ley 1986; Atkinson 2000; Kennedy and Leonard 2001b). In addition to being a popular topic in urban academics (geography, economics, sociology city planning), it has gained attention in the media and urban culture (Smith 1996, p. 17). However, the term has become contentious over the past three decades and remains emotionally charged inciting fears, anger, and excitement depending on who is using the word

(Smith 1996, p. 28). Since Ruth Glass coined the term describing the displacement of the working class by the social class, or gentry, in the book *London: Aspects of Change* (Atkinson 2003; Babcock 2001) the definition of the term has taken many different forms. Maureen Kennedy and Paul Leonard summarize the history of definitions well, explaining:

“Some frame gentrification within the decades-long process of disinvestment and re-investment...others define it as urban revitalization creating commercial or residential improvements or an upgrading of low-income neighborhoods...still others commonly refer to gentrification as the class and racial tensions that frequently accompany the arrival of new residents into a neighborhood (2001b).”

Numerous theories accompany the definition debate regarding gentrification's causes and effects in different neighborhoods. However, Lees, Slater, and Wyly accept that gentrification has no uniform definition, cause, or effect, because it is different, not only from city to city, but neighborhood to neighborhood (chapter 4). Many authors argue the detrimental effects it has on the cultural and communal aspects of low-income, often minority neighborhoods (Atkinson 2000; Smith 1996), while others claim the affects are positive (Byrne 2003; Freeman and Braconi 2002). In response to these studies, municipalities throughout America have begun to incorporate gentrification into public policies (Lees and Ley 2008, p. 1). James Bryne (2003) claims, “an increase in the number of affluent and well-educated residents is plainly good for cities, on balance, by increasing the number of residents who can pay taxes, purchase local goods and services, and support the city in state and federal political processes” (405). He then faults the government, not free markets, for failing to utilize resources to maintain and expand affordable housing inventories.

Urban academics are conflicted and not only are the affects argued, but the causes are as well. The main theories come from two approaches, demand side and supply side causes. Neil Smith was the first to develop a supply side theory, which is referred to as the “rent gap” theory, in which he explains that a rent gap is produced from a devalorization of land through a city’s neglect of a neighborhood. This causes properties to deteriorate and their values to decline, bringing land value down with it (Smith 1996, p. 61). He also suggests that, land value later rises, due to increased investment in surrounding neighborhoods, creating a greater rent gap. When the gap is large enough, “urban pioneers,” developers, and investors begin capitalizing on the undervalued properties, which begins the gentrification process.

David Ley (1986) argues in support of a demand side explanation, which states that that the back to the city movement has created growing demands for housing, in particularly housing near the city center. He provides several explanations, including aging baby boomers reaching the 25-30-year-old cohort; more women entering the workforce causing a larger growth in small households, which in turn creates demand for high-density central city neighborhoods; and housing markets, particularly inflated housing prices in the suburbs. He also mentions the amenities associated with an urban lifestyle, commute times, and that the growth in white-collar service sector creates a demand for inner-city housing near the concentrated white collar central business district are all demand side causes of gentrification.

These arguments have each been important for the growth of the gentrification debate, but they are, in themselves, too narrow. Hamnett (1991) explains, “while each (argument) is of considerable explanatory value, they are incapable in isolation of

completely explaining gentrification by virtue of their focus and range” (176). The authors Lees, Slater, and Wyly (2010) explain that gentrification can vary by the culture of gentrifiers, whether black or gay, and as an urban or rural phenomenon, just to name a few. Though this isn’t as relevant as an explanation of what causes gentrification, it’s important to be aware of the various forms that gentrification may take.

Similar to gentrification, there is an inordinate amount of literature on neighborhood indicators, and examples of utilizing them (Kingsley 1999; Higgins 2001; Weissbourd, Bodini, and He 2009; Phillips 2003). Indicators are often used in planning and economic development, both for communities and regions, to assess the status of programs, neighborhoods, community-based-organizations, and public policy efforts. More specifically, community indicators “are measurements that provide information about past and current trends...that reflect the interplay between social, environmental, and economic factors affecting a community’s well being” (Phillips 2003, p. 2).

These indicators, used together, create a framework that provides an accurate demographic picture of a community, and how it compares to surrounding communities and the encompassing region. Phillips says, “indicators themselves do not provide a model of how a community works or how to determine planning choices; rather, they provide information that can be used by planners and others when faced with decisions about the community” (Phillips 2003, 2). However, as can be guessed from the complexity in defining gentrification, measuring it is also quite difficult, and assessing gentrification in a neighborhood can be highly dependent on indicators chosen (Nesbitt 2010, p. 15). Kennedy and Leonard (2001a) identify several indicators in their study as

being particularly significant of possible gentrification including a growth in area median income, total housing units, and housing occupancy rates.

Community indicators are only useful when well organized and complimented by the correct data (Kingsley 1999). The Urban Institute's Neighborhood Indicator Guidebook explains that, data must be compared to the city averages to understand how the community is faring in contrast, data must be consistent and comparable over time, and the indicators must be explained on how and why they are descriptive in explaining a community's or researcher's goals (Kingsley 1999). Identifying indicators that accurately assess gentrification is a significant challenge to predicting and acting on gentrification trends (Kennedy and Leonard 2001a). Since this study is retroactive of a place already accepted to be gentrified, and will be further proven by evidence found in this study, it's a goal to discern which indicators accurately show gentrification and displacement in efforts to predict it in the future (Atlanta City Task Force 2001; Kennedy and Leonard 2001b). Each of the indicators used will be taken from the US Census and American Community Survey housing and population data.

The five indicators, area median income, homeownership rates, vacancy rates, changes in size of age cohorts, percent of homeowners and percent of renters burdened by housing, have been chosen from the Urban Institute's Guidebook as well as the gentrification literature:

1. Increases in Area median income (AMI) - a growing AMI usually relates to a growing job base, increased educational level of residents, and relates to an increase in housing costs (Nesbitt 2005). If this growth happens while many other aspects of the community are changing such as racial composition and age distribution, then, it will likely show that, it is new residents that is causing neighborhood change, rather than old residents with growing incomes.

2. Percentage of renters and owners burdened by housing costs (a decrease in housing affordability) – This variable, defined by the census as residents paying more than 30% of household income on housing expenditures (Policy Map, U.S. Census Definitions). Marcuse (1985) identified raising rents in neighborhoods as an indicator of gentrification. In this study it's important to know both, how rents might be rising as well as how that affects community residents.

3. Increasing median housing prices – Tracking median housing prices will show how the demand for housing in the community changes over the course of the three decades. As demand rises in a community, development pressure and rising property values will also grow, leading to displacement pressures for original residents (Kennedy and Leonard 2001b).

4. Increasing homeownership rates – This indicator is often accepted as explaining gentrification is in the process, as more homes begin to become owner occupied, rather than renting. "Rising homeownership tends to reflect a greater amount of income within households as well as growing neighborhood stability" (Nesbitt 2005, p. 28).

5. Vacancy rates – lower vacancy rates in combination with higher demand for housing raises housing prices (Nesbitt 2005).

6. Increasing employment rates – A growth in employment rates, combined with the other indicators, will further confirm that the neighborhood is changing towards gentrification.

History of Little Five Points

Little Five Points is an important neighborhood for Atlanta, providing a source for an eclectic mix of retail, food options, and people. In addition, it has a long history as a commercial district important to Atlanta's growth. Particularly, in a city known for its sprawl and vast growth, a neighborhood that has been attracting people back to the city for over 20 years is an important component to a diverse city.

In the decades following the Civil War, improvements in transportation technology fueled suburban growth in east Atlanta. Several trolley lines converged with one turn-around near the intersection of what are now Moreland, Euclid, and Seminole Avenues. As these suburban neighborhoods grew, the area that would be known as Little Five Points became prime real estate for Atlanta's first suburban shopping district (Destefano, 2010, p. 1). Between the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Joel Hurt and Samuel Inman created development and transit companies, leveraging the expanding access to the central business district with trolley lines and building suburbs including Druid Hills and Inman Park around these lines (Destefano 2010, p. 11).

In 1910, Little Five Points had its first commercial establishment, and just 6 years later, had become a thriving community center (Destefano 2010, p 15). The communities continued to grow over the next several decades as a typical suburb of Atlanta, which the commercial district supported with entertainment and necessities including a drugstore, grocery stores, and three theaters by 1941. One of these theaters, now known as the Variety Playhouse, still stands. Though the commercial district, at this time, was full of standard businesses that a community relies on, according to a 1927 Atlanta Constitution (now the Atlanta Journal Constitution) article, it

was “Atlanta’s most progressive community center” (Atlanta Constitution 1927, p. 8). A later article, in 1937, stated that throughout the 1930’s while the country experienced the Great Depression, the Little Five Points Civic Association was formed and there were 75 operating businesses in the commercial district (Atlanta Constitution 1937, p. 3).

Initially, in the late 1800s, the land was converted from farmland into large estates with Victorian and Revival-Style homes, but these were eventually razed to make room for smaller Bungalows, Folk Victorian, and American Four-Square homes (Destefano 2010, p. 17). These homes are currently the style still found throughout the neighborhoods surrounding Little Fives Points and could be claimed as a draw for the neighborhood’s revitalization (Zukin 1987, p. 143).

Figure 1: Inman Park American Foursquare Home



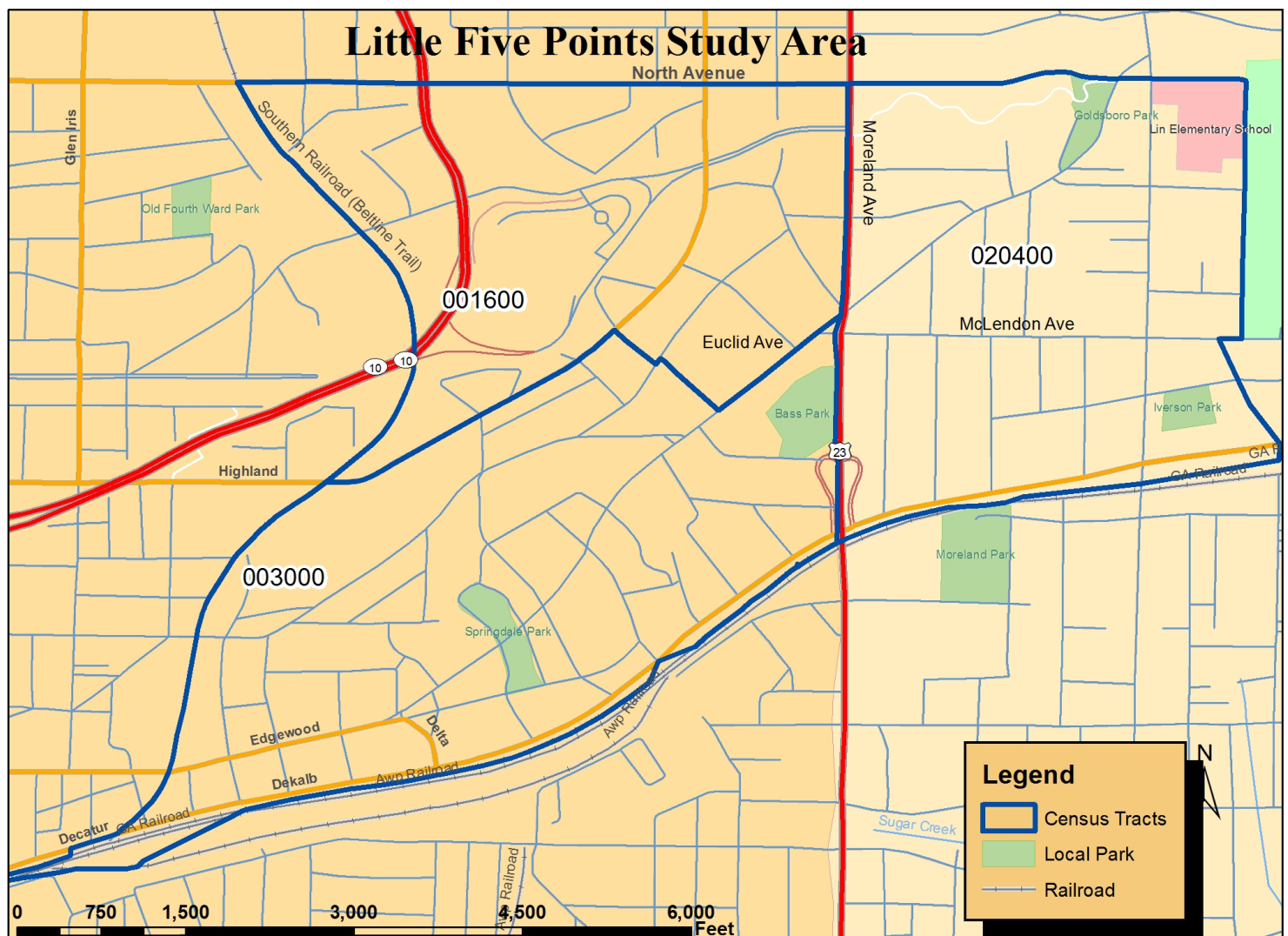
Source: Keen Team Real Estate Experts

Though development continued into the 1950s, the neighborhood slowly began to decline through the 1960s and into the 70s. Just as the Civil War marked Little Five Points' growth, World War II, marked it's decline. With the automobile influencing growth, highways were chosen over trolleys, and in 1949 Atlanta's streetcar system closed completely (Destefano 2010, p. 23). Unfortunately, in the 1960s homes were demolished for the Stone Mountain Tollway, which was never built, exacerbating neighborhood residents' flight to the suburbs. "By the early 1970s, storefronts were boarded up, two theaters were closed and a third theater was operating as a methadone clinic" (Destefano 2010, p. 23). However, shortly after this Little Five Points began evolving into the neighborhood it is today.

Figure 2: Inman Park Folk Victorian Home



Source: Becky Harris

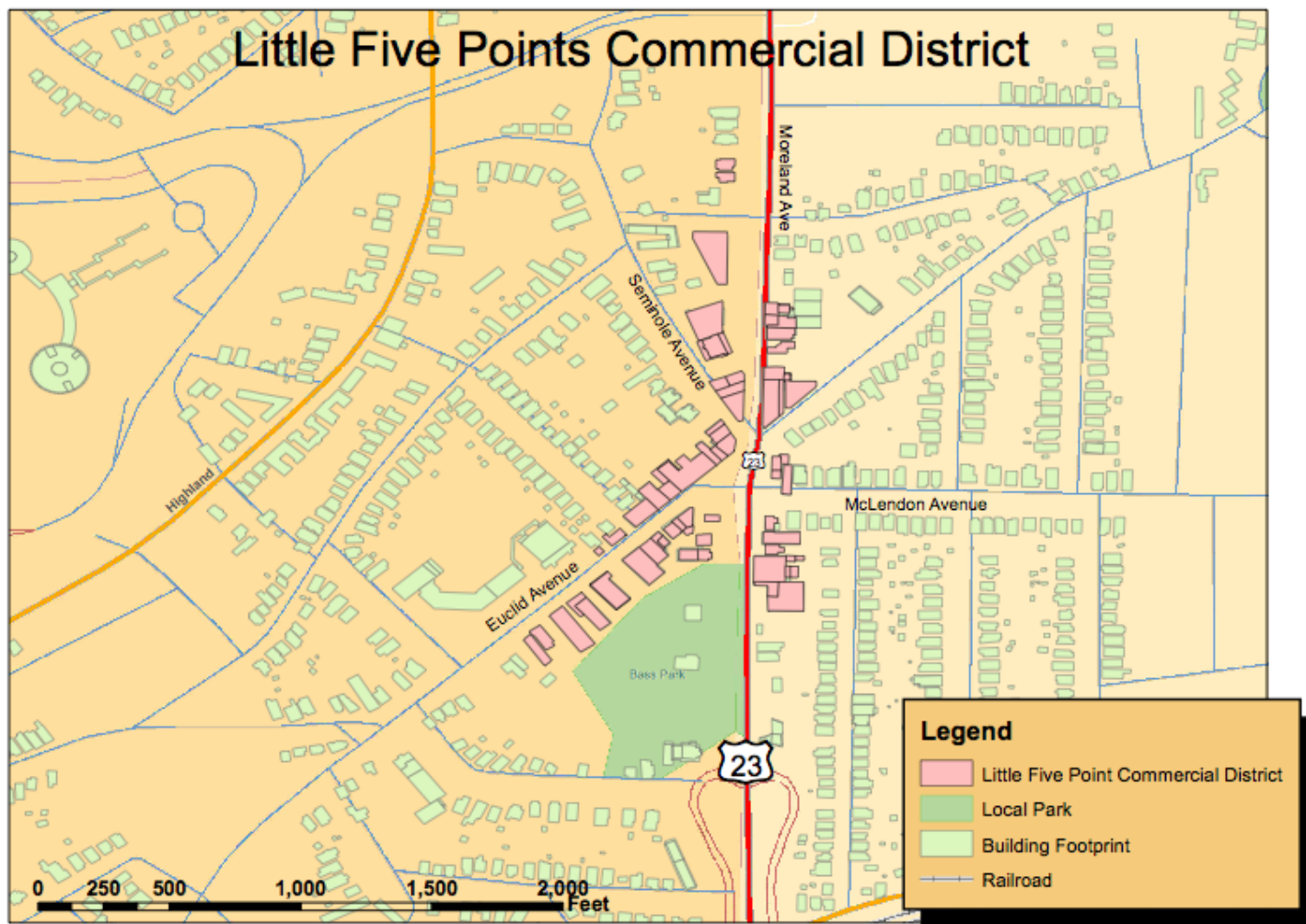


By 1976, Little Five Points was the home to over 90 businesses including artist studios, a radio station, retailers, restaurants, and the reopening of the Euclid Theater/Variety Playhouse (Destefano 2010, p. 23). With the support of growing community organizations, in 1983 a community block grant was used to close strips of Seminole and Euclid Avenues to create “Triangle Square” and “Gregory L. Davis Plaza” (Destefano 2010, p. 25). Both pedestrian hang-outs contribute greatly to the feel of the district expanding opportunities for people to congregate, play music, eat, and simply relax on a sunny day. These places have become a central meeting spot for many of the train-hoppers, homeless anarchists, and hippies that spend their days in Little Five

Points trying to earn money for food and spending time within their own community.

Closing down the sections of these roads also shut off the intersection that gave Little Five Points its name, in addition, it created “Triangle Square” making Little Five Points home to two humorously geometrically incorrect names.

Now, and at least since the mid 1990s, Little Five Points has become well-known as the eclectic funky-hippie-counter-culture hub of Atlanta, constantly being referenced to New York’s Greenwich Village with clubs likened to Manhattan’s CBGB and the “Triangle Square” connected to East Village’s St. Mark’s Place (Atlanta Constitution 1994; Pareles 1996; La Ferla 2007; Wall 2000). A giant skull sculpted into the front façade of the famous hamburger joint, the Vortex, welcomes you to the neighborhood when driving south on Moreland Avenue. Next to the Vortex is Junkman’s Daughter, a retail shop where you can find risqué costumes, prank gifts, and a “tobacco” head shop in the back. In between the two shops is an alcohol shop, a man making convincing arguments to your girlfriend why any good man would buy one of his flowers for her, and another man sitting on the concrete playing impressively complicated rhythms on a paint bucket. Little Five Points is the only place in Metro Atlanta one might find such an eclectic mix of formal and informal businesses.



The commercial district has evolved significantly since it housed a Kroger, pharmacy, and movie theaters (Destefano 2010). Currently it is home to retro and avant-garde boutiques, dive bars, concert venues, and a few trendy higher-class establishments. However, some are worried that the neighborhood is not finished changing. In 2001, Starbucks coffee moved in breaking a 20-year-old unwritten law “don’t let chain stores or franchises in Little Five points” (Wall 2010). According to Michael Wall’s interview of Elliot Goldberg, who has managed properties in Little Five Points for 35 years, Caribou Coffee, CVS, McDonald’s, and Gap have all been turned away before” (Wall 2010). Though the only other chain store that currently resides in Little Five Points, is American Apparel, other businesses have opened that serve a less

grungy clientele. Since 2008, The Wrecking Bar and The Porter have both moved in providing young professionals with high-end beer and food options, casual but significantly more gourmet than the standard dive bars; the Euclid Avenue Yacht Club, Elmyr, and Star Bar, that have been Little Five Points Staples since the 1990s.

These new restaurants are not the only indicators of change in Little Five Points. The historic houses in the surrounding neighborhoods are now side by side with high-end apartments and lofts. In 1998, before any of the businesses oriented to serving the professional clientele came into the neighborhood, Robert Silverman converted the “old Bass High School into 133 luxury loft apartments” (Barbash 1998). These lofts, which rented at \$995 a month for a 1-bedroom, leased more quickly and for more money than originally expected. This was the first big rental complex in Little Five Points and the high rents and quick lease-up show the demand for high-end living in this neighborhood. This, possibly, was even a catalyst for the aforementioned nicer restaurants, according to Scott Dunn, an Atlantan real estate developer who said, “The Bass project is going to bring in higher-end businesses who will pay higher rents,” in a New York Times Article (Barbash 1998).

A residential and commercial district like Little Five Points, is unique and difficult, if not impossible, to manufacture. It has evolved organically with the perfect mix of organized neighbors and affordable commercial space that allows for business investment that would be too risky in a fancier part of Atlanta. If the neighborhood does change, from a place where you can find 20- and 30-somethings walking down from their apartments for lunch or a beer, hobos from Seattle deciding hanging on Triangle Square, or suburban teenagers coming to shop and escape their homogenous

communities. Atlanta will lose one of its most unique and famous neighborhoods. What planners must ask themselves, if they believe this is a good part of the city, is if they can't manufacture a neighborhood like this, should they fight to preserve it?

Data Collection

Once collected, the 1980, 1990, and 2000 Census data, and the 2005-2009 ACS average was organized into tables for easier analysis.¹ For this study, in order to maintain consistency in articulating data interpretation, the ACS 5-year estimates will be referred to as “2009 data” or accepted as the third decade of study, despite being one year short of a decade.

The data found in the following tables is aggregated census tract data from the De Kalb county census tract 204 and the Fulton County census tracts 16 and 30. The Northern boundary for the three census tracts is North Avenue, the eastern boundary is Candler Park Drive, the southern boundary is Dekalb Avenue and the western boundary is a section of old rail road tracks that the city has recently redeveloped into the Beltline Trail.

The indicator data was compiled into two geographies. The data from the De Kalb County census tract 204 and the Fulton County census tracts 16 and 30 will be referred to as “the region” or “Little Five Points.” The other data collected is the City of Atlanta, as the American Census Bureau defines cities as an “incorporated place,” which includes the Little Five Points census tracts along with the rest of the city (U.S. Census Bureau 2012).

The data, broken up by each region, Atlanta and Little Five Points, is compared decade to decade by place. Understanding how the indicators increase or decrease from 1980 to 2009, will assist in assessing how the neighborhood changed throughout

¹ The American Community Survey data was used instead of the 2010 census data because the census no longer includes the long form, and only conducts population and housing counts, while leaving demographic estimates to the ACS

the three decades. As each indicator is compared over the decades, the amount of change is calculated between each time period. Each indicator's change in Little Five Points is then compared to the indicator's change in Atlanta. This assesses whether the change can be attributed to neighborhood change or citywide change.

Data Presentation

Total Population

Table 1: Population		
Total Population	Atlanta, Georgia	Little Five Points
1980	425,022	4,925
1990	394,017	4,728
2000	416,474	5,482
2009	515,843	10,159
Source: U.S. Census 1980 SF3, 1990 SF3, 2000 SF3, 2005-2009 ACS Estimate		

In 1980, the total population for Little Five Points shrank slightly and then grew slightly over the following decade. However, by 2009 the population nearly doubled, growing by 71% in between 2000 and 2009. In Atlanta, the population change is similar, however not as drastic. Between 1980 and 1990, the population dropped by 7.3% and then, in 2000, crept back up to just below the 1980 level. Over the next nine years, the population was estimated to have jumped to 515,843, a 23.86% increase compared to Little Five Points 71% increase.

Age Cohort Shifts

Table 2: Relevant Age Cohorts				
Age	Atlanta, Georgia		Little Five Points	
	Persons	% of Total	Persons	% of Total
1980				
25 to 34 years	79,248	18.7%	1,878	38.13%
55 to 64 years	35,102	8.3	294	6.0
1990				
25 to 34 years	76,137	19.3	1,608	34.0
55 to 64 years	28,297	7.2	157	3.3
2000				
25 to 34 years	82,083	19.7	2,107	38.4
55 to 64 years	30,766	7.4	228	4.2
2009				
25 to 34 Years	102,523	19.9	3,131	31.5
55 to 64 Years	48,812	9.5	772	7.6
Source: U.S. Census 1980 SF3, 1990 SF3, 2000 SF3, 2005-2009 ACS Estimate				

The age spread changed over the years change as well. The study focuses on the changes within the cohorts 25 to 34 and 55 to 64 years old. The changes in these cohorts are important, as these age groups are usually understood as typical gentrifiers; mobile, without dependents, and with expendable incomes (Nesbitt 2005). In Little Five Points these cohorts are concentrated making between 37.5% and 44% of the total population. However, it is interesting is that the young cohort grew by 49% between 2000 and 2009 while the cohort's share of total population shrank by almost 8%. During this time, though, the older population grew 239% and from 4.1% of the total population to 7.6% of the total population; a combination still lower than the cohort's combined 43% of total population in 2000. With many metropolises around the country experiencing population movement back to the urban core, it is possible that families and non-typical

gentrifiers will move into gentrified neighborhoods where they can find relatively affordable housing but not face the negative aspects of non-gentrified neighborhoods.

The changes in the Atlanta fluctuate much less. The young and old cohorts, 25 to 35 and 55 to 64 years old, are largest in 2009 at 19.9% and 9.5% respectively. The smaller share of population the younger cohort has in the city, strengthens the argument that Little Five Points is in the process of gentrification. Furthermore, the large fluctuations are signs of instability and movement into and out of the neighborhood that is not mirrored in the city as a whole. The concentration of younger cohorts in this neighborhood, as opposed to the city, shows Little Five Points' attractiveness to a younger potentially gentrifying population.

Employment Shifts

Table 3: Employment Statistics				
	Atlanta, Georgia		Little Five Points	
	Persons	% of Total	Persons	% of Total
1980				
Persons 16 Years And Over:	325,665		4,185	
Armed Forces	748	0.2%	0	0%
Civilian labor force:	190,183	58.4	3,058	73.1
Employed	174,839	53.7	2,916	69.7
Unemployed	15,344	4.7	142	3.4
Not in labor force	134,734	41.4	1,127	26.9
1990				
Persons 16 Years And Over:	308,805		4,281	
In labor force:	193,606	62.7	3,711	86.7
In Armed Forces	812	0.3	0	0
Civilian:	192,794	62.4	3,711	86.7
Employed	175,126	56.7	3,554	83
Unemployed	17,668	5.7	157	3.7
Not in labor force	115,199	37.3	570	13.3
2000				
Persons 16 Years And Over:	333,209		4,879	
In labor force:	213,257	64.0	4,188	85.8
In Armed Forces	440	0.1	0	0
Civilian:	212,817	63.9	4,188	85.8
Employed	182,936	54.9	4,094	83.9
Unemployed	29,881	9.0	94	1.9
Not in labor force	119,952	36.0	691	14.2
2009				
Persons 16 Years And Over:	422,282		8,812	
In labor force:	284,283	67.3	7,630	86.6
In Armed Forces	426	0.1	0	0
Civilian:	283,857	67.2	7,630	86.6
Employed	257,864	61.1	7,293	82.8
Unemployed	25,993	6.2	337	3.8
Not in labor force	137,999	32.7	1,182	13.4
Source: U.S. Census 1980 SF3, 1990 SF3, 2000 SF3, 2005-2009 ACS Estimate				

The employment status for population over 16 also changed. The percentage of people in the labor force grew from 73.1% in 1980 to 86.7% in 1990 and didn't experience a notable change over the next twenty years. The unemployment rate saw a different change, appearing quite steady at 3.4% in 1980 and 3.8% in 2009 while experiencing a dip to 1.9% in 2000. Atlanta's employment status changed quite differently over the time period. In 1980, similar to the neighborhood, Atlanta's labor force participation rate and unemployment were at their lowest. However, the labor force participation rate changed minimally compared to Little Five Points'. The unemployment rate changed inversely compared to the neighborhood between 1990 and 2009, growing as the neighborhood's shrank and shrinking as Little Five Point's unemployment grew. It is interesting that Atlanta's unemployment rate was highest when Little Five Points was lowest and that the city's unemployment rate declined while the neighborhood's unemployment rate peaked at the end of the study period. This information might confirm the amount of professionals moving into the city, and possibly even displacing lower skilled workers.

Area Median Income

The area median income for each decade was adjusted for inflation to 2010 dollars, using the consumer price index and the Bureau of Labor Statistics inflation calculator. The median incomes, adjusted for inflation, were \$26,548 in 1980 and steadily increasing to almost double by 2009 when the AMI was \$52,760.

Table 4: Area Median Income Adjusted for Inflation				
AMI	Atlanta, Georgia	% Change	Little Five Points	% Change
1980	\$33,928		\$26,548	
1990	39,171	15.4%	39,521	48.9%
2000	45,509	16.2	49,147	24.4
2009	51,067	12.2	52,760	7.3
Source: U.S. Census 1980 SF3, 1990 SF3, 2000 SF3, 2005-2009 ACS Estimate				

Housing Tenure Statistics

The amount of housing units in Little Five Point in 1980 was 2,821. The neighborhood lost 31 units by 1990, but then, over the following two decades, grew to 3,265 and then 5,250, an 81% increase from 1980. During the same time period the percentage of owner-occupied housing grew from 36.54% to 61.83% while the amount of

Table 5: Housing Tenure				
	Atlanta, Georgia		Little Five Points	
	# of Units	% of Total	# of Units	% of Total
1980 - Housing Units	178,744		2,821	
Occupied Housing Units:	162,553	90.9%	2,504	88.76%
Owner occupied	67,045	41.3	915	36.5
Renter occupied	95,508	58.8	1,589	63.5
1990 - Housing Tenure				
Housing units	182,754		2,790	

Occupied housing units:	155,752	85.2	2,479	88.9
Owner occupied	67,159	43.1	928	37.4
Renter occupied	88,593	56.9	1,551	62.6
2000 - Housing Tenure				
Housing units	186,925		3,265	
Occupied Housing Units:	168,147	90.0	3,059	93.7
Owner Occupied	73,473	43.7	1,300	42.5
Renter Occupied	94,674	56.3	1,759	57.5
2009 - Housing Tenure				
Housing units	246,633		5,250	
Occupied Housing Units:	200,302	81.2	4,755	90.5
Owner Occupied	102,850	51.4	2,940	61.8
Renter Occupied	97,452	48.7	1,815	38.1
Source: U.S. Census 1980 SF3, 1990 SF3, 2000 SF3, 2005-2009 ACS Estimate				

occupied housing remained steady between 88.8% and 93.7%. More important, the owner-occupied housing units grew at a much quicker rate than the housing units in total. This is a trend found in wealthier, more professional neighborhoods, which could be viewed as a sign of gentrification. Atlanta's housing units grew consistently from 178,744 to 246,633, a 38% growth over the three decades. The percent of occupied housing declined throughout the time period from 91% to 81% while the percent owner-occupied housing grew from 41% to 51%. Atlanta's owner-occupied rates were steady from 41% to 44% between 1980 and 2000 and then jumped to 51.4% in 2009.

Housing Affordability

Table 6: Gross Rent as a Percentage of Income				
	Atlanta, Georgia		Little Five Points	
	Persons	% of Total	Persons	% of Total
1980				
Specified Renter-Occupied Housing Units:	93,435		1,589	
Less than 20 percent	31,426	33.6%	518	32.60%
20 to 24 percent	12,765	13.7	312	19.6
25 to 34 percent	15,600	16.7	249	15.7
35 percent or more	28,270	30.3	437	27.5
Not computed	5,374	5.8	73	4.6
1990				
Specified renter-occupied housing units:	88,174		1,551	
Less than 20 percent	22,808	25.9	424	27.3
20 to 24 percent	11,068	12.6	373	24
25 to 29 percent	10,994	12.5	195	12.6
30 to 34 percent	8,031	9.1	109	7
35 percent or more	30,916	35.1	444	28.6
Not computed	4,357	4.9	6	0.4
2000				
Specified renter-occupied housing units:	94,577		1,774	
Less than 10 percent	6,731	7.1	76	4.3
10 to 29 percent	43,533	4.6	900	50.7
30 to 49 percent	18,966	20.1	447	25.2
50 percent or more	19,028	20.1	259	14.6
Not computed	6,319	6.7	92	5.2
2009				
Renter-occupied housing units:	97,452		1,815	
Less than 10 percent	3,812	3.9	77	4.2
10 to 29 percent	41,550	42.6	1,103	60.8
30 to 49 percent	22,686	23.3	350	19.3
50 percent or More	24,074	24.7	223	12.3
Not computed	5,330	5.5	62	3.4
Source: U.S. Census 1980 SF3, 1990 SF3, 2000 SF3, 2005-2009 ACS Estimate				

Gross rent (rent) as a percentage of income is the amount of rent, including necessary utilities (electricity, gas, water, and sewer) paid as a percentage of income. The larger percentage of population that pays a higher percentage of their income towards rent is an indicator of concentrations of poverty. If these percentages change significantly over time, they might indicate displacement from rising housing costs without a rise in employment opportunities. In 1980, 27.5% of the population paid 35% or more of their income towards rent, this number changed little to 28.6% of the population paying over 35% of their income on rent and 35.6% of the population paying over 30% of their income on rent. In 2000 40% of the community paid over 30% of their income on rent and 31.6% of the population paid over 30% in 2009. This fluctuation will be compared to the changes in area median incomes and housing available, because the fact that rental housing might be less attractive in this area might be a reality since the amount of rental housing didn't go up very much during this time, meaning that the rental properties might be poor quality and receive below market rate for this neighborhood.

In Atlanta these numbers changed from 30.3% for renters paying 35% or more of their income towards gross rent, 35.1% of the community paid over 35% of their rent and 44.2% paid over 30% of their income in 1990. In 2000 40.2% paid over 30% of their income on rent and 48% of the population paid over 30% of their income in 2009.

Table 7: Monthly Owner Costs as a Percentage of Household Incomes				
Statistics	Atlanta City, Georgia		Little Five Points	
		% of Total		% of Total
1980				
Specified Owner-Occupied Housing Units:	55,414		731	
Less than 20 percent	32,220	58.1%	462	63.2%
20 to 24 percent	6,105	11	113	15.5
25 to 34 percent	7,144	12.9	62	8.5
35 percent or more	9,264	16.7	94	12.9
Not computed	681	1.2	0	0
1990				
Specified owner-occupied housing units:	57,010		742	
Less than 30 percent	40,707	71.4	536	72.2
30 percent or more	15,599	27.4	206	27.8
Not computed	704	1.2	0	0
2000				
Specified owner-occupied housing units:	61,208		1,061	
Less than 30 percent	42,938	70.1	793	74.7
30 percent or more	17,495	28.6	268	25.3
50 percent or more	7,906	12.9	69	6.5
Not computed	775	1.2	0	0
2009				
Owner-occupied housing units:	102,850		2,940	
Less than 30 percent	65,343	63.5	1,883	64
30 percent or More	36,747	35.7	1,057	35.9
50 percent or More	15,599	15.1	230	7.8
Not computed	760	0.7	0	0
Source: U.S. Census 1980 SF3, 1990 SF3, 2000 SF3, 2005-2009 ACS Estimate				

Research Interpretation

Little Five Point's rate of owner occupied housing was lower than the city's at the beginning of the time period but grew to a rate 10 percent higher than the city's by 2009. This growth in owner-occupied housing, with the quickest growth from 2000 at 42.5% to 2009 at 61.8%, shows this is when the neighborhood began to boom. The population growth, then, wasn't a product of apartments or public housing but was mostly single-family owner occupied homes. A neighborhood that is largely owner-occupied is typically more invested in with maintained property values and better rates of crime, housing quality, and access to amenities. However, it is important to understand the relationship between renter and owner occupied housing. Will such a strong increase in owner occupied housing create a rift between homeowners and the more transient populations in Little Five Points? If so, what can planners or local community groups do, to ensure Little Five Points remains an eclectic community?

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